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AUTHOR Ishii-Kuntz, Masako
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ABSTRACT

Previous studies have shown that both economic and familial factors affect the status of the elderly across cultures. The objective of this study was to identify other antecedents of the status of the elderly, especially those involving the familial and religious domains. The presence or absence of ancestor worship was used as an indicator of the religious aspects of the society. A sample of nonindustrialized societies from the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) and the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (SCCS) provided cross-cultural data. The dependent variable (status of the elderly) and two independent variables (the value of conformity versus self-reliance in socialization and ancestor worship) were coded from the HRAF. These data were used to test the hypothesis that the status of the elderly varies according to predominant social norms and the practice of ancestor worship. The basic patterns of effects of the independent variables were found to be similar for both sexes. The results showed that the status of the elderly was higher in societies where conformity was emphasized in the socialization process. The correlation between elderly status and the practice of ancestor worship, however, appears to be spurious. A multivariate analysis revealed that ancestor worship had no significant effects on the status of the elderly. (References and data tables are included.) (ABL)

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STATUS OF THE ELDERLY:

EXAMINATION OF FAMILIAL AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Masako Ishii-Kuntz
Department of Sociology
Washington State University

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ABSTRACT

Previous studies have shown that both economic and familial factors affect the status of the elderly across cultures. The objective of this study is to identify other antecedents of the status of the elderly, especially those involving the familial and religious domains. Hypotheses to the effect that the status of the elderly varies according to predominant socialization values and the practice of ancestor worship were tested with cross-cultural data. The results show that the status of the elderly is higher in societies where conformity is emphasized in the socialization process. However, the correlation between elderly status and the practice of ancestor worship appears to be spurious.

INTRODUCTION

The problems associated with old age are becoming more evident as the elderly population grows rapidly in our society. Attitudes toward the elderly are highly variable, ranging from positive to neutral to negative, but heavily skewed in the unfavorable direction in industrial societies (Cowgill and Holmes, 1972; Dowd, 1981; Cohn, 1982). Given these negative attitudes toward the elderly in modern society, it is conceivable that old people are treated differently, perhaps quite honorably, in more traditional societies. In fact, several studies have found a negative relationship between modernization and the social status of the elderly (Palmore and Whittington, 1971; Cowgill and Holmes, 1972; Dowd, 1981; Cohn, 1982). Social status of the elderly is generally defined as the rank that accrues to the elderly in the stratification system. High status may be indicated by the elderly's power to monopolize material goods and/or opportunities. If elderly persons are deprived of privilege and the power to control valued resources, the elderly may be said to have low status in a society. In the discussion which follows, social status thus can be viewed in terms of a societal rating of the worth of elderly persons as a category.

The primary measures of modernization employed by most previous studies include economic and familial dimensions. Cowgill and Holmes (1972), observing societies within an agricultural to industrial range of economic types, found that the status of the elderly is the highest in agricultural societies and declines as industrialization progresses. Palmore and Manton (1974) found that the status of the elderly stabilizes and begins to rise at an advanced stage of modernization, i.e., after a country has gone through a rapid period of modernization. At the other extreme, however, the status of the elderly was

found to be relatively low in hunting and gathering societies compared to more economically complex societies such as agricultural societies (Palmore and Maddox, 1977). From these studies it is apparent that the overall relationship between the status of the elderly and modernization (as indicated by type of subsistence economy) is curvilinear. The elderly's social status is low in hunting and gathering types of economies and highest in agricultural economies. As modernization progresses, the status of the elderly declines until modernization reaches its most advanced stage when status of the elderly stabilizes or slightly improves.

Relationships between status of the elderly and some familial variables have also been studied. Balkwell and Balswick (1981) found that the effects of family structural complexity on the elderly's status was non-significant. Lee (1984a), however, reported that fully extended family systems are associated with low status of the elderly. Small extended family systems were also found to be positively correlated with status. Post-marital residence was also found to have a significant influence on the status ranging from high status in patrilocal systems to low status in neolocal systems. Lee (1984a) therefore concluded that while economic factors are clearly important, familial variables cannot be excluded from further analyses. All the independent variables (type of economy, family structural complexity and post-marital residence systems) which were included in Lee's investigation explained only about 16 percent of the variation in status of the elderly (Lee, 1984a). This clearly implies that there may be more factors which have significant effects on the status of the elderly.

The present study attempts to explain the relationship between the status of the elderly and structural variables (economy, family, and religion) with the more abstract concept of possession of and control over resources, which seems to affect power-dependence relations between the elderly and younger age

group members.

Implicit in modernization theory is the idea that the social status of the elderly is a product of imbalanced social exchange between the elderly and non-elderly members of a society. According to social exchange theory, an imbalanced relationship (power imbalance) is derived from Actor A (individuals or collectives) having more power than Actor B (individuals or collectives). The power of Actor A over Actor B is also synonymous with the dependence of Actor B upon Actor A (Dowd, 1975). Prerequisite to the exercise of power, however, is the possession of sufficient resources. Resources are essentially anything which the exchange partner perceives as rewarding and which consequently renders him or her susceptible to social influence. From an exchange theory perspective, then, the problems of aging in industrial societies are essentially problems of decreasing resources for the elderly which result in decreased dependence of younger members upon the elderly.

The curvilinear relationship between type of economy and the status of the elderly can be explained by the amount of resources possessed by the elderly relative to younger members. In food accumulating societies such as agricultural, future food supply seems to be best assured by inheriting capital and personal property from senior to junior generations. The accumulation of valuable resources by the elderly thus results in the dependence of younger members on the elderly. In exploitative (hunting and gathering) societies, there is no means for extended storing of food; thus more energy and skill exerted in food-acquisition lead to immediate reward. The elderly, who lack the physical strength and mobility necessary for accumulating food in exploitative economies, rarely possess any significant resources.

The relationship between family structural complexity and the status of the elderly is found to be not only nonlinear, but also appears to be due to type of economy (Balkwell and Balswick, 1981; Lee, 1984a). These studies found

that extended family systems are predominant forms in agricultural economy and nuclear family systems are found predominantly in exploitative societies, thus the strong covariation between type of economy and familial structural complexity may account for a spurious relationship between status of the elderly and familial structural complexity. With the proposed theory it can be explained that the resources possessed by the elderly in fully extended families may not be as valuable for younger members since these resources are not directly inherited by single individuals, but rather remain as family property.

The relationship between post-marital residence customs and status of the elderly can also be explained by the proposed theory. Different patterns of post-marital residence seem to generate different amounts of resources available to the elderly. In societies where neolocal residence is a predominant pattern, married couples do not systematically reside with the kin of either spouse, but rather establish a new, independent household. Because of this distance between the households of the elderly and younger members, families of each generation are economically independent and the elderly may not be able to closely supervise the younger group; this can be seen as a lack of resources of the elderly to control the non-elderly members. In unilocal residence, the newly married couple do not set up an independent household, but rather live with the parents of one of the spouses or other relatives. The spatial proximity of residence with the kin allows the senior members of a family to closely supervise the younger members.

Particularly, the elderly are vested with the most resources in patrilocal residence in which the couple live with the husband's parents. Paige (1974) pointed out that a consequence of patrilocal residence is to concentrate males in a single location, while matrilocal residence (a couple living with the wife's parents) distributes consanguineally related males throughout the

society. The implication here is that in a patrilocal society, males form localized kinship groupings in which authority is exercised by a single male head who is a member of the senior generation. This authority, derived from strong kin group solidarity in patrilocal societies, can be seen as a resource of the elderly and makes younger members dependent on the elderly.

SOCIALIZATION VALUES AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP

Power-dependence relations between older and younger generations may be affected by factors other than direct control over tangible resources. Previous research (Ellis et al., 1978; Petersen et al., 1982) has shown that there is considerable variation across cultures in the primary values inculcated in the socialization process, along the dimension of conformity versus self-reliance as articulated by Kohn (1977) and others. Conformity refers to obedience, civility, and dependence; self-reliance is synonymous with aggressiveness, individualism, and independence. If the trait of conformity is emphasized in the socialization of a society's younger members, the directive to which they are encouraged to conform almost inevitably represent the desires of the society's older members. An emphasis on self-reliance, on the other hand, encourages independence from the senior generation.

The distinction in the two basic value orientations is best reflected in the work of Kohn (1977). Kohn's research indicates that working-class parents are likely to place greater emphasis on authority and external conformity while middle-class parents both allow and demand a higher degree of self-direction. Extensions of this theory to the cross-cultural arena (Olsen, 1973; Ellis et al., 1978) have shown that parents tend to emphasize and value conformity in their children when the parents themselves are closely supervised in the

performance of their economic, familial, and religious roles. These studies clearly suggests that Kohn's theory of parental socialization values applies at the cross-cultural level.

More recent work by Petersen, Lee and Ellis (1982) found that an emphasis on conformity as opposed to self-reliance in socialization has a substantial positive effect on physical punishment. Given this strong relationship between values of socialization and actual disciplinary practices, we now know that in societies where conformity is an important socialization value, the focus of control for behavior is external. Children who are physically punished exhibit a given behavior because they have little choice but to follow directions from others. The implication of this finding is that children who are socialized in an environment where conformity is valued are more likely to grow up to be conforming adults. In such societies seniority is itself a resource, because younger persons are taught that conformity to the wishes of their elders is desirable. Conversely, if self-reliance is emphasized in the socialization process, conformity to seniors is unimportant and successful achievement, by which high social status may be obtained, is based on individual efforts rather than seniority. The status of the elderly, therefore, is expected to be high in societies where conformity is emphasized in the socialization process, and low in societies where self-reliance is emphasized.

The major purpose of this study is to determine if cultural differences in socialization values directly influence the social status of the elderly. Cowgill and Holmes (1972) hypothesized that the individualistic value system of Western society tends to reduce the security and status of the older person; this hypothesis was supported by the cases reported by Cowgill and Holmes. They found that in Austria, Norway, and the United States, where individualism is more pronounced, where success is achieved mainly through individual effort, and where failure is viewed as the individual's responsibility, the status of

the elderly appears to be lowest. Comparing values of individualism with conformity, they pointed out that,

> "A value system which emphasizes ego develcpment and individualistic achievement places the older person at a disadvantage as compared with a value system which submerges the individual in the groups..." (Cowgill and Holmes, 1972:12).

The implication of this proposition is that values of conformity emphasized in the socialization process can be considered as significant resources for the elderly to maintain high social status. Thus we predict that in societies in which conformity is the primary cultural value in socialization, status of the elderly will be higher than in societies in which self-reliance is the primary value.

Socialization values and structural level variables also seem to be interrelated. Correlations between values of socialization and type of economy and family complexity have been reported (Barry et al., 1959; Ellis et al., 1978). Agricultural activities require more organized and collective human labor, which demand that the members of the society be cooperative rather than individualistic. Therefore, agricultural societies have predominant pressure toward conformity and obedience.

Barry et al. (1959) also found that both unilinearity of descent and unilocal residence are positively related to socialization pressure toward compliance as opposed to assertion. Other studies also found strong positive correlations between patrilocal residence and the value of conformity in socialization (Olsen, 1973; Ellis et al., 1978).

While economic and familial variables are significant antecedents of status, this study also examines religious factors as possible antecedents of status of the elderly. In this study, the presence or absence of ancestor worship will be employed as an indicator of religious aspects of the society. The importance of ancestor worship in explaining the elderly's status has been

suggested by a previous study (Palmore, 1975). Palmore argues that the status of the elderly in Japan is higher than in other industrial countries partly because of the ancient Japanese practice of ancestor worship. Simmons (1945) and Cowgill and Homes (1972) also employed the practice of ancestor worship as one of the measures of modernization and found that the status of the elderly is higher in societies where ancestor worship is practiced.

The logic behind this relationship is that in the presence of ancestor worship, the ancestors are believed to play a part in the affairs of the living by controlling their fate, rewarding good behavior, and punishing immorality (Ellis et al., 1978). The elderly who have personally known some of the ancestors now long dead and who themselves will soon become ancestors should be given rights to control the property and affairs of non-elderly members. Again, our theory suggests that ancestor worship is a resource possessed by the elderly that enhances the power of the elderly over younger members of the society. Thus we predict that the presence of the ancestor worship is directly related to the social status of the elderly.

In summary, several studies suggest that there are clear relationships between the status of the elderly and structural variables such as type of economy and family complexity. In addition, this study will incorporate other family and religious factors and test the hypotheses that the status of the elderly is (1) directly related to the emphasis on conformity as opposed to self-reliance in socialization, and (2) directly related to the presence of ancestor worship. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that including socialization and religious factors along with the variables of economic type, family structure and post-marital residence will significantly increase the explained variation in the status of the elderly.

METHOD

Sampling

A sample of nonindustrialized societies was obtained from the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) and the Standard Cross-Gultural Sample (SCCS) (Murdock and White, 1969). The HRAF is a collection of raw ethnographic reports of over 300 societies. The descriptive reports in the HRAF have been content-analyzed and assigned quantitative codes on the variables of interest.

The SCCS is a sample of 186 societies from the much larger Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1967), which contains information for 1,170 societies. Despite the reduction of sample size, the SCCS will be used on the basis of its completeness of ethnographic accounts and the selection of societies from dispersed areas which minimize the problems of diffusion or "cultural borrowing" (Naroll, 1968; Lee, 1982, 1984b).

Measurement

The dependent variable, status of the elderly, was coded from HRAF categories 886 (senescence), 887 (activities of the aged) and 881 (status and the treatment of the aged). Status is a function of individual and social structural factors and is divided into three interrelated components. Prestige is synonymous with respect and it is given to those who are highly regarded because of their individual characteristics or the group to which they belong. Power is seen as a possession of control, authority, or influence over others. Privilege is special rights or immunities to which the individual is entitled. Social status of the elderly is viewed as a societal rating of the elderly as a category, indicated by the prestige they receive, the privileges to which they are entitled, and the power they possess.[1]

In using ethnographic reports contained in the HRAF, one must recognize that the available information may have been coded several times by different

coders and each coder may have slightly different judgement. Employing two or more individuals who independently code the variables is one way to estimate the extent of these problems. In coding from the HRAF, two coders were employed to code each variable for each society. Status of the elderly was measured in terms of an ordinal scale with values ranging from 1 to 5. Final scores were assigned by summing the two coders' ratings, which resulted in a 9-point scale, ranging very low status (2) to very high status (10). Inter-coder correlations for status of elderly males and females were computed to be .780 and .747 based on 99 and 100 analyzable cases, respectively.

Two independent variables, the value of conformity versus self-reliance in socialization and ancestor worship, were also coded from HRAF. The emphasis on conformity in socialization was measured by an ordinal scale, with values ranging from 1 indicating a greater emphasis on self-reliance (thus low in conformity) to 7 indicating a greater emphasis on conformity. Very high conformity is indicated by parental demand for cooperation, group cohesion, and obedience. At the other extreme of the scale is very high self-reliance indicated by parental demands of high achievement in children and parental values on excellence in task performance and competitiveness. Final scores are assigned by summing the two coders' rating in 12-point scale. Inter-coder correlations for this variable were determined to be .751 based on 89 cases and .715 on 91 cases for boys and girls respectively.

Ancestor worship was originally coded as a dichotomy, differentiating the presence from the absence of such worship in each society. There was, however, substantial disagreement between coders since there were many borderline cases. Therefore, it was decided to include cases of coder disagreement as an intermediate category which represents situations in which ancestors are believed to exist but are not worshiped. For the present analysis, this variable ranges from 1 for absence of ancestor worship to 3 for apparent

presence and active practice of such worship. The inter-coder correlation for this variable was .614 based on 120 cases.

Three independent variables (economic type, family structure, and post-marital residence) were obtained from the precoded data in the SCCS. The various types of subsistence economies were ranked roughly by the level of societal complexity as follows: gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, incipient agriculture, extensive agriculture, and intensive agriculture.

Family structural complexity is coded with three categories representing nuclear, small extended including stem and lineal, and large or fully extended families.[2] Because of the known curvilinearity between this variable and status of the elderly, dummy regression analysis was employed using the nuclear family system as the baseline category.

Types of prevalent post-marital residence originally included patrilocal, matrilocal, neolocal and others including avunculocal and ambilocal.[3] Among non-neolocal types of residence, patrilocal was particularly found to have great impact on status of the elderly (Lee, 1984a). Therefore for the present analysis, this variable was recoded into three categories, neolocal, matrilocal including avunculocal and ambilocal, and patrilocal.

The data were analyzed by means of dummy regression analysis separately for males and for females. This method will produce coefficient estimates to interpret the "effects" of each independent variable on status of the elderly. The coefficients reported in Table 2 represent differences in status between nuclear and stem, and fully extended family systems, respectively. In addition, estimates of variation explained by each independent variable will be obtained.

RESULTS

Mean values for the status of the elderly in each category of the independent variables are presented in Table 1. Results are similar for both

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TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

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sexes. For both men and women, mean status scores gradually increase as the society's economic type becomes more complex, supporting the previous findings by Balkwell and Balswick (1981) and Lee (1984a). Mean scores for the status of both sexes also increase as it becomes more evident that ancestor ancestor worship is widely practiced in the society. A curvilinear relationship is found between family structural complexity and status of the elderly males and females, i.e., status is highest in stem family systems, lowest in extended, and intermediate in nuclear family systems.

A linear relationship was found between post-marital residence and status, with the status of both sexes being the lowest in neolocal and the highest in patrilocal systems. By collapsing the original 12-point scale into 4 point scale due to small numbers of cases in each category, it is clear that there is a linear relationship between emphasis on conformity in socialization and the status of elderly males and females. Status of the elderly is lowest in societies where self-reliance as opposed to conformity is strongly emphasized and the mean status scores increase as more emphasis is placed on conformity in socialization.

Bivariate correlations between the status of the elderly and the independent variables are reported in Table 2. At the bivariate level,

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

the socialization value of conformity versus self-reliance is most strongly correlated with status of the elderly (r = .418 for males and r = .444 for females). Ancestor worship is also positively related to status; however, the correlation is stronger for females (r = .293) than for males (r = .201). Type of subsistence economy and post-marital residence are positively related to the status of the elderly of both sexes. The correlations between status and the stem family system are positive and slightly stronger for females than males. The negative correlations between status and large extended family systems indicate that the elderly's status is lower in societies where the dominant family structure is the large extended system rather than the nuclear system.

To determine the effect of each independent variable at a multivariate level, regression analysis was performed; the results are reported in Table 3. Examination of standardized coefficients (B) shows that the post-marital residence system has the strongest effect on status of the elderly males (B = .302) followed closely by the socialization value of conformity (B = .266).

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

As for the status of the elderly females, socialization values were found to influence the status most strongly (B = .283), followed by post-marital residence (B = .236). The effects of type of economy on status are lower than the above familial variables with betas of .259 and .213 for males and females respectively. This indicates that when we control for familial variables such as post-marital residence and socialization values, type of economy does not

have as large an effect as it has at the bivariate level.

Ancestor worship has virtually no effect on status of elderly for both sexes. This finding will be further elaborated in the discussion part of the paper. The effects of the stem family system are small but positive as predicted, while the effect of the fully extended family is negative. This is similar for both sexes.

The basic patterns of effects of the independent variables are similar for males and females. The effects of type of economy, post-marital residence, and fully extended family systems are larger for males than females, while those of socialization values, ancestor worship, and the stem family system seem to influence female status more than that of males.

The five explanatory variables (type of economy, family structure, post-marital residence, ancestor worship and socialization values) account for 38 percent of the variation in the status of elderly males and 36 percent for elderly females. Socialization values contribute most to the explained variation in the status of the elderly (37.4 percent of the explained variation for males and 28.2 percent for females). Adding two independent variables (socialization values and ancestor worship) to the model tested by Lee (1984a) improves the explained variation in the status of elderly males by .222 and in female status by .200. Overall, the two variables contribute 44.7 percent and 43.8 percent of the explained variation in status of elderly males and females, respectively. As is clear from correlation and regression analyses, most of the increases in explained variation come from the significant effects of socialization values on status.

These results show that the socialization value of conformity versus self-reliance has a significant effect on the status of the elderly. This seems clear from all the analysis employed in this study. Ancestor worship, however, was found to have no significant effects on the status of the elderly in the

multivariate analysis, although bivariate correlations are positive as predicted.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Of the three hypotheses examined in this study, the one which related emphasis on conformity in socialization to status of the elderly was clearly supported. Compared to other independent variables, socialization values are found to have the strongest effect on the status of both sexes. On the other hand, the presence of ancestor worship seem to have no effect on status.

The effects of the other independent variables (type of economy, family structural complexity and post-marital residence) are similar to those reported in earlier studies (Balkwell and Balswick, 1981; Lee, 1984a). There is a curvilinear relationship between family structural complexity and status, clearly indicating high status in stem families and the lowest in large extended families. Status is also highest in societies where patrilocal residence is the predominant pattern of post-marital residence. A linear relationship is also found between economic complexity in nonindustrialized societies and status of the elderly.

The non-significant effect of ancestor worship on status of the elderly was not entirely anticipated. At the bivariate level, ancestor worship appears to influence the status of the elderly as we have predicted. The non-significant effect of ancestor worship at the multivariate level seems to suggest that the covariance of ancestor worship with status is shared with other predictor variables. As shown in Table 2, relatively strong positive correlations between ancestor worship and socialization values are found ($r = .301$ for males and $r = .303$ for females). This means that societies which

practice ancestor worship are also likely to socialize their children for conformity as opposed to self-reliance. Given this correlation between ancestor worship and socialization values, the effect of socialization values on status at the multivariate level may have eliminated the effect of ancestor worship on status.

At the theoretical level, it appears that the elderly's knowledge of ancestors now long dead and the fact that the elderly themselves are soon becoming ancestors do not provide sufficient resource for the elderly to maintain their power over the younger members of the society. It can also be speculated that ancestors are considered clearly different from those who are living, thus no direct power is transmitted to the living regardless of the age.

The effect of socialization values on the status of the elderly demonstrates a further application of Kohn's theory. Given the support for Kohn's theory at a cross-cultural level as shown by Ellis et al. (1978) and Petersen et al (1982), this study attempted to use values in socialization as an explanatory variable to predict status of the elderly. Investigation into the effects of socialization values on the status of the elderly is unprecedented, however; this study has shown that we must further examine the consequences that cultural variation in socialization values have on the wider aspects of family.

Although ancestor worship was found to have a non-significant effect on status, emphasis on conformity versus self-reliance in socialization clearly influences the status of the elderly. While recognizing the importance of effects of economic factors on status of the elderly, Lee (1984a) suggested that a satisfactory explanation of cross-systemic variation in the status of the elderly must also include non-economic factors. This study provides further evidence that familial factors such as socialization values may also be

significant in explaining the variation in the status of the elderly.

NOTES

1. Balkwell and Balswick (1981) included abandonment of the elderly as a determining criterion of low status. However, in this study, the abandonment of the elderly was not employed as an indication of low status. See Lee (1984a) for the argument on this issue.

2. Stem family consists of the senior generation and the family of one of their children. Lineal families contain one senior family and two or more junior families. Large extended family consist of at least two nuclear families in each of at least two adjacent generations (Lee, 1982).

3. Under avunculocal residence system, married couples reside with the husband's mother's brother (the maternal uncle of the husband). Under ambilocal residence, married couples move in with one or the other set of unspecified kin.

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TABLE 1. STATUS OF THE ELDERLY BY TYPE OF ECONOMY, ANCESTOR WORSHIP, FAMILY STRUCTURE, POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE AND SOCIALIZATION VALUES: MEAN VALUES.

Independent Variables	Categories	Males	Females	N
Type of Economy	Gathering	6.14	6.22	7 (9)
	Fishing	5.88	6.25	8 (8)
	Hunting	6.50	5.67	4 (3)
	Pastoral	7.29	7.00	7 (4)
	Incipient Agriculture	7.15	7.18	13 (11)
	Extensive Agriculture	6.86	7.00	14 (14)
	Intensive Agriculture	7.83	7.42	23 (24)
Ancestor Worship	Absent	6.44	6.24	16 (17)
	Intermediate	6.64	6.64	11 (11)
	Present	7.31	7.47	49 (45)
Family Structure	Nuclear	6.94	6.97	33 (29)
	Stem	7.58	7.86	26 (22)
	Extended	6.47	6.50	17 (22)
Post-Marital Residence	Neolocal	5.86	6.00	7 (7)
	Matrilocal	6.57	6.64	23 (22)
	Patrilocal	7.49	7.49	47 (45)
Emphasis on Conformity	Very Low	5.46	5.50	13 (10)
	Low	6.63	6.71	24 (21)
	High	7.93	7.69	15 (16)
	Very High	8.00	8.31	11 (13)

Note: Numbers in the parentheses indicate female cases.

TABLE 2. BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS AMONG ALL VARIABLES.

	Status	Economy	Residence	Stem	Extended	Ancest	Values
Status	.962	.308	.230	.195	-.169	.201	.418
Economy	.327	---	.172	.032	-.104	.122	.382
Residence	.283	.228	---	.120	-.078	.049	.126
Stem	.241	.006	.165	---	-.325	-.024	.023
Extended	-.211	-.113	-.088	-.345	---	-.075	-.010
Ancest	.293	.165	.039	-.010	-.139	---	.301
Values	.444	.382	.210	.178	-.048	.303	.967

* Correlations for male sample are above the diagonal; correlations for the female sample are below the diagonal. The "status-status" correlation (upper left corner) is the relationship between the status of the elderly males and the status of the elderly females and the "values-values" correlation (lower right corner) is the relationship between the socialization values for boys and girls.

TABLE 3. REGRESSION OF STATUS OF ELDERLY ON INDEPENDENT VARIABLES.

Males

Variables	Bivariate Correlation	Standardized Coefficients	Cumulative R-Square	% of Explained Variance
Economy	.308	.259	.095	24.9
Ancest	.201	.038	.123	7.3
Stem	.195	.034	.149	6.8
Extended	-.169	-.189	.164	3.9
Residence	.230	.302	.239	19.6
Values	.418	.266	.382	37.4

Females

Economy	.327	.213	.107	29.9
Ancest	.293	.069	.163	15.6
Stem	.241	.022	.209	12.8
Extended	-.211	-.185	.219	2.8
Residence	.283	.236	.257	10.6
Values	.444	.283	.358	28.2